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# HORACE GREELEY UPON TILDEN.

TILDEN'S

Responsibility for Election Frauds.

TILDEN IN FAVOR OF TREATING  
WITH THE REBELS.

TILDEN AS A LEGISLATOR.



## HORACE GREELE UPON TILDEN.

### TILDEN'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR ELECTION FRAUDS.

The gigantic frauds upon the ballot-box committed in the city of New York in 1868, by which John T. Hoffman was chosen Governor and the success of the Tweed Ring secured, are now confessed and notorious. By these frauds New York City was made in that year to return as cast nearly 113,000 Democratic votes in a total of 156,000 votes, while, in spite of the increase of population, there have since that time never been cast in that city over 137,500 votes, and the Democratic party has never pretended to have cast more than 86,700 votes. While part of the fraud was certainly committed by illegal voting, most of it was accomplished by fraudulent counting. The following papers show how that fraudulent counting was prearranged, and how Samuel J. Tilden acquiesced in and, to say the least, did not interfere to prevent the use of his name in carrying out the foul conspiracy :

About one week prior to the election the following circular was issued by the Democratic State Committee, of which Samuel J. Tilden was chairman. Its genuineness has been admitted under oath.

#### "PRIVATE AND STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

"ROOMS OF THE DEMOCRATIC STATE COMMITTEE, }  
October 27, 1868. }

"MY DEAR SIR—Please at once to communicate with some reliable person in three or four principal towns, and in each

city of your county, and request him (expenses duly arranged for this end) to telegraph to William M. Tweed, Tammany Hall, at the minute of closing the polls, not waiting for the count, such person's estimate of the vote.

"Let the telegraph be as follows:

" 'This town will show a Democratic gain (or loss) over last year of (number), or this one is sufficiently certain. This town will give a Republican (or Democratic) majority of —.'

"There is of course an important object to be attained by a simultaneous transmission at the hour of closing the polls, but no longer waiting. Opportunity can be taken of the usual half-hour lull in telegraphic communication over lines before actual results begin to be declared, and before the Associated Press absorb the telegraph with returns, and interfere with individual messages; *and give orders to watch carefully the count.*

"SAMUEL J. TILDEN.

"*Chairman.*"

Of course the "important object to be attained" was, in fact, to form an estimate of the Republican majority in the honest rural districts, so as to be sure to overcome it by a fraudulent count in the city. Unfortunately, the conspiracy succeeded. And now, six years afterwards, Samuel J. Tilden seeks the suffrages of the same people whom he allowed to be defrauded by the use of his name.

What Horace Greeley thought of these frauds, and Mr. Tilden's share in them, is shown in the following letter which he published in the *Tribune* of October 20, 1869:

## LETTER TO A POLITICIAN.

TO SAMUEL J. TILDEN,

*Chairman Democratic State Committee:*

SIR—You and I are growing old. We came here young from the country, and have lived and struggled side by side

for nearly forty years. We have participated ardently in many political struggles, always on different sides.

\* \* \* \* \*

On one very important point, however, your bitterness as a partisan has impelled you to ignore and come short of your duty as a citizen and a professed upholder of government by the people. FOR THIS DERELICTION I HERE ARRAIGN YOU. I allude to the preservation of the purity of the ballot-box.

You and I grew up in the country, and are familiar with elections as they are conducted. We both know that, except in a few districts where the voters are all on one side, it is morally impossible that any considerable proportion of fraudulent votes should there be polled.

\* \* \* \* \*

I do not believe that the illegal vote in the rural districts was ever one per cent. of the whole number polled, even when there was no registration of legal voters.

How different is the case in cities, and especially in this Babel, you very well know. Long as you have lived on Gramercy Park, and eminent in social position and fortune as are the inhabitants of that favored locality, you could not tell, with intwenty, which of the residents in sight of your front door are, and which are not, entitled to vote; you could not make a list of the legal voters residing on that square, which would even approach accuracy. How it must be, then, with the nomadic denizens of our "back slums," and of our great tenement houses—how utterly impossible it is that any one should know which among them are, and which are not legal voters, and whether a man who offers to vote at 11 A. M. at one poll has or has not already voted several times at different polls, and whether he is or is not on his way to vote

Yours respectfully

still oftener at other polls, you cannot help knowing if you could. I can imagine how a man may shut his eyes to many things which he deems it convenient not to know; but I must speak of what you must know, *however you may wish or seek to be ignorant of it*. The matter to which I call your attention is vital to the very existence of free, popular government. Whenever it shall be generally understood that the results of elections are not determined by the ballots of legal voters, but by frauds in voting or frauds in counting, then the advent of avowed, unequivocal despotism must be near at hand. Between the rule of an Emperor and the rule of a clique of ballot-box stuffers, every intelligent man must prefer the former as less rapacious and more responsible. When honest citizens shall avoid the polls, asking "What is the use of voting? the result is already fixed," the days of the Republic will be numbered. Between a ruler who prohibits voting altogether and the gang who make it a sham by filling the ballot-boxes with illegal votes, or miscounting those actually cast, the sway of the former is every way preferable.

Mr. Tilden, I have been voting here for 37 years, and an active politician for more than 30 of them, and I appeal to God for my sincerity and to my public record for a witness, that in all those years I have earnestly sought and labored to have our elections decided by legal votes and none other. So how great are the temptations and the facilities for a right of suffrage so general as ours to poll illegal votes. I have openly and actively favored every effort to shut them out and keep the suffrage pure and legal. That every legal voter should have a full and fair opportunity to vote once at each election—that no one should be enabled to vote more than once—and that none but legal voters should be allowed or empowered to vote at all—such has been my constant aim. I have not confined myself to barren professions, but have shown my faith by my works.



*How is it with you?* You hold a most responsible and influential position in the counsels of a great party. *You could make that party content itself with polling legal votes if you only would.* In our late Constitutional Convention I tried to erect some fresh barriers against election frauds. Did you? The very little that I was enabled to effect in this direction I shall try to have ratified by the people at our ensuing election. Will you? Mr. Tilden, you cannot escape responsibility by saying, with the guilty Macbeth,

"Thou canst not say I did it; never shake  
Those gory locks at me,"

FOR YOU WERE AT LEAST A PASSIVE ACCOMPLICE IN THE GIANT FRAUDS OF LAST NOVEMBER.

Your name was used, without public protest on your part, in circulars sowed broadcast over the State, whereof the manifest intent was to "make assurance doubly sure" that the frauds here perpetrated should not be overborne by the honest vote of the rural districts. *And you, not merely by silence, but by positive assumption, have covered these frauds with the mantle of your respectability.*

On the principle that "the receiver is as bad as the thief," YOU ARE AS DEEPLY IMPLICATED IN THEM TO-DAY AS THOUGH YOUR NAME WERE TWEED, O'BRIEN, OR OAKLEY HALL.

Mr. Tilden, you and I were ardent participants in the struggle of 1840 wherein Martin Van Buren was ousted from the Presidency by General Harrison. You know how thoroughly our city was absorbed in that contest, wherein every man, woman, and child, took a deep and lively interest. Our elections were then held throughout three days. There was a registration freshly enacted which blacklegs had not yet learned to circumvent, the Right of Suffrage was as widely diffused as it now is, and no one ever complained that

a single legal voter was unable then to poll his vote. And though our city has since largely increased its population, the lower Wards were quite as populous then as they are to-day—several of them more so. They were full of boarding-houses crowded with clerks and mechanics; many of these covered sites since given up to great warehouses and manufactories; their denizens have moved up town, over to Brooklyn, or out on some of the railroads that lead into the open country. Practically the lower Wards are being given up to commerce, and no longer shelter by night the multitudes who throng their streets by day.

Now look at the vote of four of these Wards in 1840 and 1868 respectively :

Wards.	President, 1840.		Governor, 1868.	
	Harrison.	Van Buren.	Griswold.	Hoffmann.
IV.....	1,138	1,177	480	3,830
VI.....	806	1,223	369	5,032
VII.....	1,707	1,728	1,265	6,895
XIV.....	1,142	1,393	726	4,526
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	4,793	5,521	2,840	20,283

Van Buren's majority, 726. Hoffman's majority, 17,443.

Mr. Tilden, you know what this contrast attests. Right well do you comprehend the means whereby the vote of 1868 was thus swelled out of all proportions. There are not twelve thousand legal voters living in these Wards to day, though they gave Hoffman 17,443 majority. Had the day been of average length it would doubtless have been swelled to at least 20,000. There was nothing but time needed to make it 100,000, if so many had been wanted and paid for.

*Now, Mr. Tilden, I call on you to put a stop to this business. You have but to walk into the Sheriff's, the Mayor's, and the Supervisor's offices in the City Hall Park, and say that*

*there must be no more of it—say it so that there shall be no doubt that you mean it—and we shall have a tolerably fair election once more.* Probably a good part of the 50,000 supplied last fall with bogus naturalization certificates will offer to register and to vote. Some of them pretending not to know that they are no more citizens of the United States than the King of Dahomey is—but very few will vote repeatedly unless paid for it, and we shall not be cheated more than 10,000 if you simply tell the boss workmen that there must be no more illegal voting instigated and paid for.

*Will you do it?* Your reputation is at stake. The cowardly craft which

“Would not play false, and yet would wrongly win,”

will not avail. *If we Republicans are swindled again as we were swindled last fall, you and such as you will be responsible to God and man for the outrage.*

Prosecutors, magistrates, municipal authorities, are all in the pool; we have no hope from the ministers of justice, and the villains have no fear of the terrors of the law. I appeal to you, and anxiously await the result.

Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

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#### WHAT MR. GREELEY THOUGHT OF MR. TILDEN IN 1860—FOURTEEN YEARS AGO.

In November, 1860, Mr. Tilden had written and printed a traitorous letter; thereupon, Mr. Greeley said of him in the *Tribune*:

“Mr. Tilden is an aged man, and we wish to treat him with all decorous veneration; but will allow us respectfully

to suggest that when he merely desires to be pathetic and impressive, he will do well to avoid falling into the broad farce of inane and insane exaggeration.

"Mr. Tilden was one of those Anti-Slavery Democrats who, in 1848, defeated and crushed Gen. Cass, because he would not go with them for the Wilmot Proviso. Now he writes letters encouraging treason and stimulating disunion, because a conservative old Whig, like honest Abe Lincoln, is on Tuesday next to be elected President.

"In life's last scene, what prodigies surprise,  
Fears of the brave, and follies of the wise.  
From Marlborough's eyes the streams of dotage flow,  
And Swift expires a driveler and a show."

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### SAMUEL J. TILDEN AS A REBEL SYMPATHIZER.

In April, 1861, at the outbreak of the war, there was held in New York City the famous meeting known as the Union Square Meeting, in which everybody, except the most ultra sympathizers with treason, participated. Even Fernando Wood attended, and was one of the speakers; but *Samuel J. Tilden refused to join in the call for the meeting, or to give it his support.*

Hon. Samuel Sloan, a prominent Democrat, now President of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, and Mr. Tilden's friend, called upon him and urged him to take part in the meeting, but he utterly refused, because he had no sympathy with its objects.

Mr. Tilden's subsequent course shows that he was at least consistent in his opposition to the war. He was not only a member of the Democratic National Convention held at

Chicago, in August, 1864, but he moved the appointment of the Committee on Resolutions, and was a member of the sub-committee to whom their preparation was especially entrusted.

The Convention met during some of the darkest days of the war. After the battles of the Wilderness our advance had been checked before Petersburg. The futile explosion of "the mine," and the attack on Cold Harbor had caused enormous losses to our troops. In the preceding month Early had cut the railroad between Baltimore and Philadelphia, and advanced upon Washington till his forces were literally within range of the Capitol. Grant was calling for additional troops, and, only thirteen days before the Convention met, had written to one of the loyal Governors that "the end is not far distant if we are only true to ourselves. Their [the rebels] only hope now is in a divided North."

In this condition of things Samuel J. Tilden took steps to have, not only a divided North, but to secure an abandonment of the war, and the making of a treaty with rebels in arms. Mr. Tilden, in the Chicago Convention, joined in reporting and favored a traitorous resolution in the following words:

"Resolved, That this Convention does explicitly declare, as the sense of the American people, that, after four years of failure to restore the Union by experiment of war, during which, under the pretence of a military necessity, or war power higher than the Constitution, the Constitution itself has been disregarded in every part, and public liberty and private right alike trodden down, and the material prosperity of the country essentially impaired—justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that **IMMEDIATE EFFORTS BE MADE FOR A CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES**, with a view to an ultimate Convention of the States, or other peaceable means, to the end that, at the earliest practicable moment, peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal Union of the States."

With such a record Samuel J. Tilden now seeks to be elected Governor of the loyal State of New York in place of the gallant patriot John A. Dix. And he seeks this because, after having supported Tweed during his whole career, having by Tweed's consent presided over the Democratic State Convention in 1870 after the attack had been opened upon the Ring, and having carefully held his tongue until the Ring was beaten, he then suddenly blossomed out as an Anti-Ring Reformer!

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#### HOW TILDEN PERFORMS PUBLIC DUTIES.

Mr. Tilden was a member of the Legislature in 1872. How he attended to his duties appears from the following record:

During the session of the Legislature the yeas and nays were called 1,863 times. Mr. Tilden was present and voted only 98 times; he was absent and not recorded 1,585 times.

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